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INTERNATIONAL RED AID (MOPR)

MOPR'S BANNERS ABROAD

**REPORT TO THE THIRD MOPR
CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET UNION**

(Congress held Feb. 15-19, 1931)

BY

H. STASSOVA

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CONTENTS

I. MOPR and Other Organisations of the Revolutionary Workers' Movement	5
II. Participation of MOPR in the International Congresses of Toilers	7
III. The Leadership of the Work of Sections and of Our Brother Organisations	8
IV. Under the Sign of the Growing Terror	9
V. Jail Regime and Hunger Strikes	10
VI. The Membership of the Organisations Abroad	12
VII. Method of Socialist Competition in the Work of MOPR	15
VIII. "Patronati" as a Form of Auxiliary Work among the Emigrants	16
IX. MOPR and Workers' International Relief	17
X. Peasantry, Women, Youth and National Minorities	19
XI. Our Campaigns	21
XII. Forms and Methods of the Agitprop Work	24
XIII. Propaganda and Press	28
XIV. Legal Aid to the Prisoners	29
XV. Children's Homes	30
XVI. Aid to Political Emigrants	31
XVII. Finances	32
XVIII. The Enemies and Sabotagers of the MOPR Cause	34
XIX. What Do We Demand from the MOPR of the U.S.S.R.?	35

MOPR'S BANNERS ABROAD

I. MOPR AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' MOVEMENT

Comrades:

Approximately three years ago at our Second Congress I also had to make a report on the work of the Executive Committee.

Consequently my task consists of telling you what the Executive Committee has done in the course of these three years.

Here we must record positive and quite considerable results.

Those present who were at the Second Congress perhaps remember that we then indicated that we had to make a report at the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions, which approximately coincided with our Second Congress.

In the name of our organisation, one of the secretaries of the Executive Committee greeted the Congress. Then on the basis of our proposal a resolution was adopted which obliged all trade unions adhering to the Red International of Labour Unions to give every possible support to our organisation, both by individual membership as well as by the entire organisations.

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern as you know took place in the same year of 1928. We instructed the Communist fraction of our organisation to organise a commission at

the Congress. This commission consisting approximately of 70 people met and worked out all questions which interest comrades from foreign sections. Then the proposal of the Commission was introduced into the Presidium of the Communist International which adopted a resolution obliging our organisation to increase its work in colonial and semi-colonial countries, paying increasing attention to the persecution of Negro workers in the United States of America, to struggle against lynching and persecution of Chinese workers by the Kuomintang.

First of all, instructions were given to all Communist Parties that they must give the utmost support to the MOPR organisations and to remember that the latter are independent organisations and not departments of the Communist Party, and finally directives were given that, on the one hand, we must limit the sphere of our activity from other mass organisations of the working class and of the revolutionary movement, and on the other hand—to work in contact with them in order that one organisation should not interfere with another in its every day activity.

Then the Fifth Congress of the Young Communist International took place in September of the same year of 1928. The Executive Committee of MOPR entrusted me with making a report and then on the basis of this report a resolution was worked out appealing to all Young Communist Leagues and obliging every member of the Leagues to be a member of the International Red Aid and to give every possible support to our movement.

Further, in August, 1930, on the instruction of the Executive Committee I had to make quite an extensive report at the Fifth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions.

On the basis of my report a commission was called at the Congress which in essence was transformed into a conference. This was the largest of all the commissions of the Congress.

There we worked out a resolution which undoubtedly stimulated the work of the Red Trade Unions in the sphere of International Red Aid (MOPR).

As you see we have not a few achievements, but undoubtedly these achievements place further responsibilities on the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid and compel it to broadly develop its work.

II. PARTICIPATION OF MOPR IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF THE TOILERS

Alongside of the daily tasks which we set for ourselves we also took part in a whole number of international congresses and conferences.

We have participated in the Anti-Fascist Congress which met in March, 1929. Our sections prepared for this congress before its opening and actively participated in its work.

Then perhaps you remember that during the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution a consultation took place in Moscow of jurists who were among the members of the delegations which came to the celebrations in the Soviet Union.

On the basis of the work which was done by this consultation, directives were given to call an international juridical conference which was held in December, 1929, and at which we again participated.

At this conference a whole number of resolutions were worked out relative to the exceptional laws—revolutionary legal codes, as for example those which in its time were made by the great French Revolution, or at the time of the revolutionary movement of 1832 in Great Britain, or of our revolutionary legal code which was created after the October Revolution, which are quite different from these exceptional laws. And these left jurists have entirely and fully approved the

line which was taken by the Soviet Government in relation to all those who inflict any kind of harm to the Soviet Republics.

During the course of 1930 we had to take an active part, first, in the European Peasant Congress which helped us to stimulate the work of the International Red Aid organisations among the toiling peasantry. Secondly, in the course of the same year of 1930 the World Congress of Toiling Negroes took place in Hamburg at which we also took part and made contact with Negro organisations both in the United States of America as well as in Africa. And finally, we have taken part in the Pan-Pacific Conference of Trade Unions.

This is the international work which extended beyond the limits of our every day activity during this period.

III. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORK OF SECTIONS AND OF OUR BROTHER ORGANISATIONS

While carrying out our daily work we have taken part in the congresses of a number of our sections, for instance in Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland, China and Finland, where we sent our representatives in order to ensure the carrying out of a correct political and organisational line in the MOPR work.

Then, we have sent instructors in order to maintain a living connection with our organisations. It is true, that the number of instructors was insufficient, but this to a considerable extent is explained by the fact, that we do not have at our disposal cadres for the carrying out of this work.

We do not have a sufficient number of internationally trained comrades who are able to independently carry out this work.

In view of this fact the Executive Committee adopted the following decision which is now being carried into life:

It invites for work in the apparatus of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee individual representatives of this or the other sections, who in the course of half-a-year or one year are going through a definite school. Then they are returned to their country, or are sent out to carry out corresponding work.

During the course of 1930, the Executive Committee, partially by inviting the comrades from the countries and partially on the basis of that written material which we had at our disposal, has verified the work of 22 sections, among them such sections as Canada, India, Switzerland, Far East, Belgium, Korea, Greece, United States of America, etc.

IV. UNDER THE SIGN OF THE GROWING TERROR

However, we cannot nevertheless say that we have completely kept pace with the tempo of events with which we are confronted. In order that you may have some conception regarding the demands with which we are confronted, I will cite those figures, which I previously announced at the Second Congress in 1928, and will compare them with those facts which we have up to January, 1930 and for the year 1930.

If up to January 1, 1928, we had records of 8,659 murdered under the White Terror, then for five years from 1925 to 1929 inclusive there were 619,979 people murdered, and for the year 1930 alone 159,008 people were murdered.

We call attention to the terrible development of the White Terror.

On the other hand if in 1928 there were 12,504 death sentences, then for the five years, 1925 to 1929, inclusive, there were 50,411 death sentences and 30,826 for the year 1930 alone.

In 1928 we had 278 people condemned to life sentences and for the five years, 1925 to 1929 inclusive—384 people condemned to life sentences, and for the year 1930 alone 367 people.

The number of trials during the same period is as follows: 10,472, 14,846, and only for the year 1930—1,941.

The total number of years to which the political prisoners were condemned in the year of 1928 was 64,552 and January, 1930, 105,472 and for the year 1930—26,338.

These figures indicate with what great tempos we must work, and at that we have to pay attention also to the fact that the figures which are given to us are by far not full, inasmuch as up to the present time we have no connections with a whole number of countries.

On the other hand a large number of the facts which are at our disposal are received by us from the bourgeois press, inasmuch as our sections abroad underestimate the importance and fail to keep the necessary records of such statistics.

V. JAIL REGIME AND HUNGER STRIKES

Finally, we must take into account the fact that in some countries it is frequently impossible to learn about arrests.

People are arrested and then disappear. It is not known where they are and whether they are in jail, or if they have been murdered.

For instance, in such countries as Central and South America, the bourgeoisie makes simple account of those arrested; they are thrown into the sea to be eaten by the sharks.

We must put forward also the question that the bourgeoisie is not content with the physical destruction of the revolutionists—it excels itself in all possible tortures, about which I will not speak in detail.

MOPR members themselves are watching these facts and you can constantly read about it in the general, as well as in our MOPR press. But I will point out the causes why this is done by the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie does it to obtain evidence in order to find the roots of the revolutionary movement. Naturally, these roots they do not find.

If we shall review in what manner the revolutionists in jail are carrying out protests we will find they are subjected to all kinds of personal violence and abuse and very frequently we find their protest taking the form of a hunger strike.

The number of hunger strikes on January 1, 1928, was 261, and during the course of five years, 1925 to 1929 inclusive, there were 462, and for the year 1930 alone—111.

During the course of 1928 the number of days of hunger strikes was 107,007; and for the five years—1925 to 1929—159,547 days; and during the past year—35,507.

In this manner we see that in the previous years the hunger strikes were longer—8½ days, and the average for the five years—6½ days, and for 1930—4 days.

We consider that such hunger strikes, which are carried out in a number of countries, particularly in Rumania, and for the last years in Bulgaria, should not be carried out.

In the old times we have tried out this means and we know that this is the last means to which a revolutionist can resort, and is tantamount in essence to slow suicide.

I had to deal twice in jail with this matter. At one time it was here in Moscow in the Taganka Jail in 1904, when we were confident that a hunger strike in jail would be supported from without and a whole number of social organisations would begin to protest; and here this unification of our hunger strike with the protest without, had to bring definite results. And so it was. Part of the comrades hungered for eleven days, the majority for six days and through this course of time all the demands were satisfied.

I am citing this example in order to show that a hunger strike will only be successful if it is united with action from without.

The second case took place in 1906 in St. Petersburg.

One of our girl comrades was killed by a guard in the Transfer Jail, and here the comrades in the prison of Preliminary Detention wanted to declare a hunger strike.

However, the more experienced comrades considered that it was not advisable to begin a hunger strike inasmuch as the moment was not appropriate and there would be no support from without.

We considered that it was better to utilise the visiting day inasmuch as it was possible to transform it into a day of mourning, refusing to go to exercise, light, receiving packages, and visits.

By this method we called the attention of the outside world to the murder, through those who came to visit, or brought packages.

This means achieved the aim more simply than a hunger strike and was more effective. I am citing this fact in order to show that also in jail there are various methods of protest to which it is possible to resort before going over to the most extreme means—the hunger strike.

VI. THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE ORGANISATIONS ABROAD

What is the total of the imprisoned in jails?

On January, 1930, there were in jails 62,313 people.

On January 1, 1931, there were 169,039 people.

What army do we have in order to defend these imprisoned comrades?

How great is the army of the MOPR in the entire world?

In 1928 we had throughout the world 44 organisations. On January 1, 1930 we had 52 organisations, and on January 1, 1931, we already had 58 organisations. During the last years new organisations were formed in the following countries:

Costa Rica, Ecuador, Haiti, Honduras, Panama, Porto Rico, Peru and Philippine Islands.

You see that almost all sections are organised in the colonial countries. This indicates what demands must and should be put before us in relation to our organisation.

Alongside with this we must point out, that whereas in 1929 we had 27 legal sections and 25 illegal sections, then already in 1930 we had 20 legal sections, which is a lowering of legal sections and 33 illegal sections, that is an increase.

There are also five sections which are semi-legal.

There is a clear turn; the number of arrests are increasing, the number of death sentences and murders are also on the increase, and on the other hand—the turn of the bourgeois policy in the direction of making the MOPR organisations illegal.

How many people are grouped in our sections?

Here we have not a consoling picture. While on January 1, 1928 we had 8,900,000 people, on January, 1, 1931, we had 8,305,454.

If we shall analyse at whose expense this decrease took place then the picture will be not against us, but rather in our favour. Why? The fact of the matter is that on January 1, 1931, we had a larger number of organisations collectively affiliated to us, namely 3,216, whereas at the present time—only 2,137, that is, the collective organisations are beginning to leave us, and this is explained by the fact that the organisations which are in one or the other way connected with the Social-Democracy are beginning to leave us under the pressure of the Social-Democratic leaders. The reformist trade unions, and members of the Social-Democratic parties are forbidden by the Second International to take part in the work of MOPR.

If on January 1, 1928, we had a collective membership of 4,231,108 people, then at the present time, on January 1, 1931, we have 1,597,634 people, among them 900,000 members

of the English trade unions, which under the pressure of the Labour Party left the ranks of the MOPR organisation.

We are growing on the basis of individual membership.

If on January 1, 1928 we had 441,929 people, then at the present time we have 1,149,590 people.

The picture is clear—the decreasing number of collective membership and the growth of individual members.

What is the social composition of our membership, and what is the basis of its growth?

I shall take the figures which I gave at the Second Congress and will compare them with what we have at the present time.

Previously workers constituted 76 per cent of our membership and at the present time 69 per cent.

Peasants previously constituted 10 per cent; at the present time 21 per cent.

Non-Party workers were 58 per cent, at the present time 49 per cent. Members of the Communist Party we had 42 per cent—now 51 per cent.

Male membership was 80 per cent, now 74.5 per cent. Women were previously 20 per cent, now—25.2 per cent.

Young Communist League members we had previously 12 per cent, now—45.9 per cent.

And so we are growing first from the ranks of the peasantry, secondly, on the basis of Party organisation, and thirdly, from Young Communist League members and from the women.

If we will take the absolute figures then we shall see that the number of workers has not decreased but on the contrary, has increased, but as a proportion of the whole it has decreased.

I am citing average figures because if we begin to analyse on the basis of individual countries then this would overburden our memories and would unduly lengthen my report.

Which tasks do we set before our collective organisation and what is the form of this collective organisation?

You remember the first year of the origin of MOPR here in the Soviet Union when whole enterprises, entire shops and factories, etc., were joining collectively, and only then began the enrollment of individual members. Then we came to the conclusion that this was not advisable for us in the Soviet Union.

Abroad, the Executive Committee continues to carry out the old line, considering as its duty the possibility to embrace broader masses of workers and peasants in order that among the collective members we may gradually win individual members. And this is the line which we give; the centre of attention of the Executive Committee was directed in order to sink our roots into the large enterprises, in order to have permanent strong nuclei precisely at the point of production.

This line we were giving also in connection with the fact that once we are firmly entrenched in the enterprises, then it is much more difficult to persecute the organisation and to arrest its members.

I will cite Italy as an example. In spite of the existence of the Fascist terror there for many years, there is in Italy at the present time a big organisation consisting of individual members, which functions on the principle of work in the enterprises.

Inasmuch as the large mass of our organisation is without the law, and is persecuted in the same way as the revolutionary trade unions and the Communist organisations, then it is essential for all our organisations to be reconstructed in such a way as to be in certain safety from our enemies—the police.

Two types of organisation exist abroad. To the first type of organisation apply mass organisations, similar to that in the Soviet Union—this is the Chinese section, which is one of the largest after the U.S.S.R., the German section, North American, French and Italian sections.

The other organisations are organisations of a committee type. What does this mean? It means that throughout the

country only the committees exist, united by the Central Committee, but which in essence do not carry on sufficient political work, but occupy themselves exclusively with rendering assistance to the political prisoners, their families, and providing legal assistance, etc.

VII. METHOD OF SOCIALIST COMPETITION IN THE WORK OF MOPR

We consider the method of competition as one of the very best methods of work. The organisations initiated the Socialist Competition without previous directions from the Executive Committee, and only subsequently the Executive Committee issued more concrete directives and indicated a scheme of work and the competition began to develop.

We have at the present time a number of organisations which are competing with each other, as for instance Portugal with Belgium, the neighbouring districts of France and Germany between themselves, Switzerland with Germany, etc.

France has carried out the entire winter campaign on the basis of the Socialist Competition of various districts one with another. We have already concrete results of these competitions of individual districts in Germany.

Germany, as well as France, is also carrying out in 1930 and 1931 competition for the better forms of work, for instance in the enrollment of membership, distribution of literature, collections of money, or anything else.

That organisation which demonstrates the best work is accorded a prize by the possibility of sending a representative to the Soviet Union.

In the past year we had such a delegation from a number of German districts which on its return has carried out serious work, which to a considerable extent improved the local work.

We think that this method of competition must be developed in all countries, and for this reason we will carry it out with increased tempo.

VIII. "PATRONATI" AS A FORM OF AUXILIARY WORK AMONG THE EMIGRANTS

During this time, one more form of auxiliary work was begun. The beginning was made by the Italian emigrants. The situation is such, that in a number of countries—in France, in the United States of America, and in almost all the countries of South America there are economic emigrants, that is, people who for economic reasons because of material conditions were forced to leave their country.

The comrades from the former Jewish Ghetto in Tsarist Russia know well what a great percentage of the Jews, not having the possibility to work in Russia, emigrated to America. This example I am citing in order that the cause of emigration should be clear to the comrades.

The same emigration of the Hungarians, Jugo-Slavs and others, takes place in a number of countries. The Italian comrades decided that it is necessary to find a method for embracing this broad mass of economic emigration which is insufficiently prepared politically, in order that it will be possible to approach it with direct political MOPR demands, but which must be first swung into line for our purposes.

And so they organized the so-called "Patronati" which in translation into the English language means "Patronage." But the term "Patronati" has been established as well as our Russian word "Smitchka" in all foreign languages.

The essence of "Patronati" consists in the fact that one of the MOPR members or in general one of the revolutionary working comrades of a definite nationality, living in the country where there are a large number of economic immigrants of the same nationality, finds the people, which came from

any certain individual province. For example—from Lodz. In uniting these comrades he begins to tell them about the terrible conditions of the political prisoners in the Lodz jails. Then it is finally discovered that these immigrants have there some acquaintances.

Hearts are warmed and opened up—and so also are the pocket books.

In order to strengthen this feeling, the comrades are given the right to collect money for those of the political prisoners which are known to the economic immigrants. Confidence is strengthened, they see that the money which they themselves collected, they themselves also send directly to the prisoner in jail.

The next step: the money is divided into two parts. One half goes to the corresponding jail, and the second—to the national organisation of MOPR of the same nationality as the immigrants. Then the percentage is changed—we have 25 per cent and 75 per cent. The first part is given to the MOPR of the country where the immigrants live, and the other 75 per cent is distributed between the national MOPR and the "Patronati."

Further, members of the MOPR are gradually enrolled from the general mass of the economic emigrants, and the distribution of literature begins, etc. In a word—new methods are sought in order to approach ever broader masses.

IX. MOPR AND WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL RELIEF

It was necessary to carry out a strict dividing line between our work and the work of the Workers International Relief in the sphere of the broad mass organisations.

The comrades from the Workers International Relief and of our organisation are at times confused on the question as to what is the difference between this and the other.

The difference is this. That we are assisting the political prisoners, and the Workers International Relief assists at the time of the economic strikes, at the time of the economic struggle.

Our comrades in Germany have almost made a mistake.

When a large strike movement began in the Ruhr and in Mansfeld, they began to carry out the work as well as the Workers International Relief. We gave them instructions that this was incorrect, that our MOPR organisation must participate in the strike committees which are created at the time of the strikes, because we know that as the result of these strikes there will be victims, but it is necessary to strictly de-limit and to know that we will assist the victims and their families and not the strikers in general.

This line we have carried out, are carrying out, and will carry out.

In the resolution of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern it was pointed out to us that it is necessary to de-limit the spheres of activity, and also in relation to the Workers International Relief. It is necessary to say that sometimes proposals are made to unite MOPR and Workers International Relief.

This cannot be permitted.

How is it possible to unite such two ununified magnitudes as the aid in the economic struggle and assistance to political prisoners? If we shall unite this work in one organisation then we shall make a complete mess. Let us take the Workers International Relief.

It rendered aid at the time of the earthquake in Japan when the workers remained without a shelter. Can we as MOPR members in such cases give assistance? Under no circumstances.

Had the Workers International Relief the duty to render this assistance?

Of course it had. When in 1921 we had famine, the Workers International Relief was first to give aid to our children.

Should MOPR have done this?

No!

Undoubtedly the spheres of activity are entirely different and it is not only unnecessary to unite them, but this should not be done.

X. PEASANTRY, WOMEN, YOUTH AND NATIONAL MINORITIES

During this time we turned serious attention to the work among the peasantry, and a push in this direction was undoubtedly given by our participation in the European Peasant Congress.

At the present time we have issued instructions about the work among the peasants, and the main line taken here is along the principle of the patronage work of the city over the village.

The city is going out to agitate in the village and very good results are achieved.

We also had before us questions about increasing the work among the women and the youth. In relation to the women it is necessary to point out why we consider it particularly necessary to carry out this work, let us say, in illegal sections. Because it is easier for a woman to penetrate into the jail, easier to receive minor concessions. She is less likely to be watched, and less attention is paid to her, inasmuch as it is considered that she is less occupied with politics.

This is a certain manoeuvre which we applied in order to better preserve our illegal organisation. Of course we have taken as a general line the increasing of the number of women in our organisations as a whole.

And finally the youth. If we should carry out sufficiently exact statistics, of whom consists these 169,000 and more people who are held in the jails of the capitalist countries, then we would see that the youth constitutes the largest percentage,

The youth is more active, the youth is in the ranks of the troops and—as we know the soldiers are persecuted for the revolutionary movement.

But the work among the youth in relation to international education is still very weak and we in reality are only beginning to develop this work.

It is necessary to say that the work of the Executive Committee was considerably more difficult in the recent period. The foreign sections have quickly recalled the majority of their representatives after the second international conference and did not give new representatives.

Under such conditions we had to transfer the entire burden of the work almost exclusively on our apparatus, an apparatus — we must say—rather weak, which at all times we will have to train and to strengthen.

I think that the MOPR organisations which are present in this hall remember the two Greek soldiers who were sentenced to death and only as a result of the mighty campaign of protest their execution was substituted by imprisonment.

Comrade Marty also rises in our memory, who carried on a struggle exactly among the soldiers, who helped in his time to organise an uprising in 1919 in the Black Sea, and who at all times continues to maintain the closest contact with the revolutionary soldiers in various jails.

Here, comrades, is the task which is set before us with all sharpness. We must develop our work in order to show to the soldiers, who are frequently forced to put on the soldier's uniform, what MOPR is, and to what extent they are interested in the work of MOPR to win them for our organisation.

The special children's organisation "Youthful Friends of MOPR" does not exist abroad.

And finally, the last question with which we occupied ourselves in the recent times, the work among the National Minorities. It is just we, as internationalists, as an organisation occupied with international education, who considered it un-

doubtedly necessary to raise the work among the National Minorities, inasmuch as we know that there is virtually not a single country where there is not a National Minority, and where there does not exist the necessity to carry on among them revolutionary work.

Because the national question, with the exception of the Soviet Union has not been solved anywhere. It is just on the basis of the achievements of the Soviet Union, we can point out to our brother sections how to carry on this work.

XI. OUR CAMPAIGNS

I have indicated to you in which direction and on what organisational basis it is necessary to build our work, and further we must place the question, how it is necessary to carry out the international education, by what concrete methods. It is necessary to frankly state that we have carried out our work abroad mainly, and almost exclusively, through agitational campaigns. Up to the present time we are still carrying out our work in the campaign "shock" methods.

The campaigns it is necessary to divide according to their content. The campaigns can be "calendar" campaigns, accidental, episodic.

About the calendar campaigns I can say according to the month what they will be: month of January—this is the month of the three "L's"—Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg. Then March 8 and 18; May 1; August 1; the day of execution of Sacco and Vanzetti; the day of our October Revolution, etc., etc., and the International Youth Day.

Then the episodic campaigns—accidental. For instance we are carrying out a campaign because of the arrest of Comrade Pashin in Latvia and his deportation to Poland; at the present time on account of the bestial tortures in Lodz and other jails of Poland we have again begun a campaign.

On the one side, it is necessary to divide the campaigns into the international and national. If on January 1, 1928 we had 31 international campaigns and 240 national campaigns, then on January 1, 1930 we had 70 international and 400 national campaigns. I will not cite to you individual national campaigns because from the current literature which we review you know about those individual campaigns which have been carried out and are being carried out now.

These campaigns were of the most varied content. Thus we carried out a prolonged campaign for amnesty, and yesterday we saw the results of the campaign for amnesty which was carried out in Germany. You saw Comrade Margis and Comrade Gockeler, who were condemned to long years of imprisonment, and only under the pressure of our brother organisation "The Red Aid" of Germany was it possible to achieve their liberation.

The second task which we set for ourselves is the struggle with the jail regime. At the present time this struggle acquires particularly great significance, because if at the past congress I had to speak about those plans which were made by the bourgeois governments about the destruction of the political regime, then now Pilsudski takes away from the revolutionists that which even the Tsarist regime gave them in jail. The revolutionists achieved through tens of years of struggle with the prison regime in the Tsarist time such a situation that they have created jail communes, which at the present time exist in jails.

You can imagine what bestiality the bourgeoisie has reached. That which at the present time is being carried out in Poland is gradually being introduced also in the other capitalist countries. We are carrying out a campaign so that there should be a political regime in jails and in order that this political regime should give the possibility for existence of the communes.

Why do we consider this to be of particular importance?

Because the workers and peasants who are arrested are frequently not completely class conscious and coming into the commune are gradually being trained. I will point out to you the fact that the Moscow jail—The Bricklayer's on Taganka—was called by the old Tsarist police "The Socialist University."

We studied in jail. The same thing is taking place in jails of Poland, Italy and other countries. There where the communes exist there are a number of cases where workers and peasants, who fell into prison, even technically untrained, came out prepared revolutionists with a great supply of knowledge. The jail administration sees and understands the circumstances and attempts to separate the prisoners in jail. They are separated either according to nationality—White Russians separated from Jews, or workers are separated from the peasants, etc.

It is clear that we will fight against such separation, that we will fight at least for getting that old regime which already existed, until we will be able to open the doors of the jails.

Speaking about the jail regime, I am characterising, of course, in the main, the jail regime of the Western European countries and of the United States of America, but we shall speak about the jail regime in other countries, as for instance in the East, and we could dwell on the facts which we heard in the Commission of the Profintern.

A comrade from Persia spoke there who in his time experienced on his own body the Tsarist regime in the Baku jails. At the present time he, as a Persian, has to work in Persia. He says:

"If we shall compare the Persian jail with what was in the Tsarist time then the Tsarist jails would appear as a paradise."

On the basis of these words you can conceive what are the conditions of the Persian jail. One could point to the

Chinese jails and their barbarous regime. We can cite the example of what is going on in Indonesia and Indo-China, etc.

I must say that in all the colonial countries it would be a great achievement to receive jails at least of the European standard. On the other hand it is necessary to point to such a country as England where the separate political regime does not exist but all alike are under the same regime as criminals, and if you fall in there even for a short time, say a couple of months, you immediately, from the first moments of your entrance, have the possibility of being subjected to corporal punishment, because corporal punishment at the present time is still being applied in all the English jails.

Consequently our comrades who fall into jail can be subjected to corporal punishment, and the corporal punishment as applied there under any and every pretext. For instance, if one of the prisoners does not eat up his portion of bread and gives it to his neighbour then this is a subject for corporal punishment. If in the hall, where one must keep silent, words are exchanged—corporal punishment. If the imprisoned on meeting do not say anything, but bow to each other—this is also punished by corporal punishment. I am citing to you the examples that you may see the essentially barbaric laws which still exist in England.

It is characteristic that these laws are applied in all the countries which are under the domination of England. So thus our comrades in Palestine—Arabs and Jews—are subjected to corporal punishment on the basis of the letter of the law, and the Executive Committee has to initiate a campaign in order that in the English Parliament questions should be raised that this law should not be applied in the colonies, and also raise the question about a political regime.

Finally, we have to carry on campaigns for the right of asylum. It is known to all that this does not exist anywhere except in the Soviet Union. The political emigrants have refuge only in the Soviet Union. In addition to that, campaigns

are being carried out against this or the other contemporary events, campaigns for the enrollment of new members, and for the collection of finances, etc.

XII. FORMS AND METHODS OF THE AGITPROP WORK

In what forms are these campaigns carried out?

Organised meetings, visiting of homes, etc., are organised. This is an interesting thing which perhaps we should apply when we carry on a particularly big work among the women, wives of workers and housewives, in the Soviet Union.

In Germany, members of MOPR have to carry out this work according to such a plan: such blocks and so many homes must be covered by a certain comrade. He is given a definite quantity of literature, and he must visit flat after flat in the houses, to ring at each flat and attempt to agitate for the distribution of literature, collection of money, etc. These campaigns were never completed without new enrollment of members, new flow of names and distribution of a large quantity of literature.

Alongside with it takes place agitation on the streets, in the yards, by whole groups. They enter into the yard, and one of the group sings, or in a loud voice makes a small introductory speech. It is natural, that when the agitation begins the windows and ventilators are opened and as a result—the enrollment of new members.

One more method. The group speaks, not singly, but in a chorus. This increases the impression. A definite speech is made through the medium of the chorus, similar to what we do when we pass by the Tribune in a demonstration.

Another form is delegations to parliament and various political parties, in order to turn their attention to this or another question, and to compel them to come out with speeches on the parliamentary tribunes on these questions.

Under our directions and supervision our sections abroad have taken an active part in parliamentary elections. Here it is necessary to point out a mistake which was permitted by one of our sections, which put forward in the beginning the bare slogan—"Vote for the List of the Communist Deputies." We consider that such a line is incorrect, that we must carry out in our policy the following: to call upon the members of MOPR to vote for that organisation which fully and wholly supports our MOPR demands. Full amnesty for political prisoners. Full right of refuge. Change in the jail regime, etc. Speaking so concretely, we undoubtedly would have to give an answer that the only Party which supports our MOPR demands is the Communist Party and for this reason we must vote for the list of the Communist Party.

Our sections carried out the elections in Germany both into the central, as well as in the Communal parliaments, in France, and in the United States of America.

And finally, delegations to the corresponding consuls, embassies and ambassadors with the demand either to free the prisoners or to allow them to leave the country, etc.; at times this is not limited to conversation but also to concrete action.

So for instance at the time of one of the events in Italy our German organisation in Berlin sent a delegation of workers to the Italian consul with a protest, and when he did not accept them all the windows in the building were broken with bricks.

We consider that such methods are very useful in order to show our enemies that they have to deal not only with our tongues, not only with our words, but also with the calloused hands of the workers.

Comrades, in connection with those campaigns, which we carried out and are carrying out, I would like to call your attention to one point which frequently trips us here and abroad. This is the winter campaign which is carried out

around the old Christmas. Some of our exceedingly "left" comrades declare that at the present time it is not appropriate to take part and utilise the possibility of giving to the prisoners in these days books, presents, etc., saying that in giving things on this day, it seems we take part in a Christian celebration.

Comrades forget only one thing. Take again our example. In the Tsarist times we utilised both the Easter and Christmas and all possibilities in order to send news to jail. The aim itself is important for us, so that the prisoner should receive physical and political support on the one hand, and on the other hand the question consists in how you organise this campaign. I will tell you how this is done in Germany. Beginning from the month of November there is carried out partially visits, and partially sending of letters to all the institutions which exist in the given town, municipality, to all the traders, etc., with a request to give what is possible, and then within a certain time, for instance a week, the collectors visit the same addresses and what is the result?

Inasmuch as all are preparing for the Christmas holiday, hearts are opened up and the donators give Christmas toys, and clothes and all kinds of products, fuel, etc., and all this is brought to the local MOPR committee. On the eve of Christmas, which is particularly celebrated in Germany, in the largest hall of the city, a meeting is called to which are invited first of all the families of the political prisoners, secondly all the donators, and then all the members of the MOPR. There takes place an official meeting, at which presents are given to the families of the political prisoners.

In the beginning there are official political greetings and then the distribution of presents. During the political part, agitation takes place of those strata which MOPR would not otherwise reach, and as a result after this we always receive an influx of new members into the MOPR organisation.

Undoubtedly the Executive Committee is wholly and fully

correct when it declares that we need not take issue as to the time: what is important is the content which we put into it.

I would like to point out here another point which we can bring from the Soviet Union. This was also done on the initiative of our brother organisation in Germany. It establishes the birthday of the political prisoner and informs all the organisations about this day through the press.

On the date of birth of any political prisoner from all over Germany come letters and cards of greetings addressed to this political prisoner. You can see this picture? Into the postal department of the local city, addressed to one and the same name, come in endless numbers letters and postcards. The postal official sees that they are all addressed to one and the same name.

What is the matter? He begins to read these postcards, and turns attentions to the fact that the letters addressed to the name of a political prisoner in jail are all from MOPR members. He becomes acquainted with MOPR organisation. You can picture to yourself that the jail office is going crazy from such an avalanche of letters. The MOPR organisation with its actions grips by the throat and forces attention to its strength.

This is a good method. You can picture to yourself, if on the date of the birth of any one political prisoner, let's say into an English or Indian jail, will begin to come from the Soviet Union thousands of letters. Why, this will call attention and will compel the post office officials to think over—what is this MOPR?

XIII. PROPAGANDA AND PRESS

We must say that in respect to the agitational forms and methods of our organisation we have good achievements, but we cannot say this in relation to propaganda. In relation to propaganda work we are still very weak.

The only organisation which stands firmly on its feet in this respect—is Germany. At the present time following it comes France. All the other organisations, not excluding our best organisations, Chinese and American, are as yet unable to properly place the propaganda work. And here the propagandist work we have to substitute with our press. The press is divided into periodic and unperiodic.

In relation to the periodic press on January 1, 1931, there were issued abroad 56 journals in 19 languages, namely, German, Spanish, Jewish, Italian, French, Bulgarian, Chinese, Danish, Polish, Greek, Lettish, Russian, Portuguese, Ukrainian, Rumanian, Czech, English, Hebrew and Arabic.

The number of publications is growing from year to year. In this respect one can say that the Executive Committee and its organisations can record certain achievements.

The Executive Committee has a periodic organ—a journal in the German language which is called *Mopr Zeitschrift* which means, MOPR's Journal.

Due to a number of conditions we consider that it will be advisable that our local organisations should publish their organs in their localities and that we should direct them, instead of concentrating all this matter in our hands.

Then we have published a number of pamphlets regarding the revolutionary movement. During the recent times we started the publication of the memories of the revolutionists. So for instance we have published the *Memories of Haywood*, and the *Memories of Piatnitzky* and *Shapovalov*.

I would also indicate that in the Executive Committee we are occupied at the present time with working out the publication of a Block-Note, where there would be brought out an historic survey about the origin of every individual section and its work, according to the type of our Block-Note in the U.S.S.R.

In relation to the non-periodic publications I would like to point out among others to the following: We decided that

it is necessary to follow the example of the Tsarist times, and to publish a pamphlet, *How to Act When Arrested and When Cross-Examined*. It is true, that a whole number of our sections have already a pamphlet on how a proletarian must defend himself before the court, but this is not the thing, which in its time was our pamphlet—*How to Conduct Yourself under Cross-Examination*.

In this pamphlet must be clearly expressed that by truthful or invented story a comrade will not achieve anything, will not relieve the situation for himself, but instead can throw into jail many people. This is particularly important at the present time when the number of arrests is on the increase. For arrests take place after every strike, after demonstrations of the unemployed, after peasant uprisings, etc.

Here we have to deal with mass arrests, and it is necessary to achieve the carrying out of our old line—not to give any statements in the court or at the cross-examination.

XIV. LEGAL AID TO THE PRISONERS

In assisting the prisoners with written word we must not forget also about the juridical help, but to our regret we cannot always give it to a sufficient extent, and we have to give directions to the comrades how to defend themselves. It is clear that when there were individual arrests, of even tens and hundreds, legal help and defence in court could be given. Today, however, when the arrests run into hundreds and thousands daily, this is not always possible.

Speaking about assistance to the imprisoned it is necessary to call attention to the political side of the question.

Some organisations do not understand that once a revolutionist falls into jail then in relation to the MOPR organisation it is immaterial whether he was a Communist, a Social-Democrat or an Anarchist, whether he was a "right deviation-

ist" or a "leftist." Once he falls into the bourgeois jail then it is clear that he must have the possibility to defend himself against the bourgeois order. I will remind the comrades what situation we had in the Tsarist jails. Outside we fought to the death with Social-Revolutionaries and fought with the Anarchists in a most relentless manner. But when we fell into jail then we had a united front against the jail administration.

To our regret some of our organisations do not understand this and we had to carry out a big struggle before they recognised our principles, because with the difference which was made in relation to the political prisoners we had a situation where our enemies, the administration and the Mensheviks, have utilised this, have utilised provocation, which brought decomposition into the ranks of the political prisoners.

On the other hand we consider that assistance must be given both to the political prisoners and their families. Here we had to fight with our American organisation, which did not understand for example that with the families of the political prisoners or the families of political emigrants, as for instance in the case of the Gastonia prisoners, it is necessary to give assistance.

They considered that this must not be done, that the families will exist without it.

XV. CHILDREN'S HOMES

One of the forms of assistance which co-ordinated with the international educational work is the MOPR's children's homes in which are placed for six or eight weeks the children of the imprisoned and murdered revolutionists.

We have at the present time abroad two well organised children's homes in Elgarsburg and in Vorpsved, in Germany. The first home in Elgarsburg, which has the name of MOPR, is at the present time closed by the police, inasmuch as on

account of financial need there was temporarily located there a school of the Communist Party.

On account of this, the Thuringian Minister of Internal Affairs, a National Socialist (Fascist) Frick, closed the home under the pretext that this was no longer a children's home but a Communist organisation. Undoubtedly our brother organisation The Red Aid of Germany must protest against this, and to anew win the right for the existence of this home. In Poland, the illegal Polish Children's Home ceased its existence because the government of Pilsudski found that under the cover of another organisation existed our MOPR children's home.

We have yet another home in Portugal. Then the plans were made for a home in Mexico, but the political changes which took place there, interfered with this work.

XVI. AID TO POLITICAL EMIGRANTS

Finally, the question of aid to political emigrants. Our aid in the Soviet Union, however, is not able to accommodate all the political emigrants, and we do not admit all political prisoners into the U.S.S.R.

The fact that during the recent times we began to make certain exceptions does not change the decision of the Second International Conference. In relation to the political emigrants we were given a strict directive to admit into the Soviet Union those who are threatened with capital punishment, or a very long imprisonment. And we were confronted with such a question. What to do if the political emigrant is threatened not with a long jail sentence, let's say two years, and who in general cannot any longer live in any country? He was deported from his country, or he fled from it, he was deported from Austria, France, Germany, Belgium, from all the Scandinavian countries, etc.

It is clear that we had to make some kind of a change and to permit the sending of such political emigrants to us. We had to carry out a very big struggle with our Border Sections, I call the attention of all our organisations which border this country: with Latvia and Poland, which carried out an incorrect line.

As soon as the corresponding person reaches the age of military service, then it is found that he has to run away to us. The comrade does not understand, as in its time the Czech organisation did not understand, that the duty of a Party member, of a Communist—is to go into the ranks of the corresponding army in order to decompose it, and not to run away to the Soviet Union.

On the other hand it is considered that as soon as a man is threatened with a three-years imprisonment he is inevitably sent to the Soviet Union. We were successful nevertheless to carry out in this respect quite a big work. Further it must be stated, that not all of our organisations abroad are able to carry on the work with political emigrants. Frequently, and in many places, they are not legalised, immediately placed in a legal position, and begin to consider in which way they can be furnished with fabricated documents giving the possibility of living in the country. This line of course is not correct. On the example of the German section we can see what can be achieved by definite legal means. There we have a special man who occupies himself with this. As soon as the political emigrants come to Germany this comrade immediately legalises him with the police, receives for him a document and then already begins to receive for him the possibility to work. But it is necessary to say that at the present time in connection with the unemployment it is almost impossible for the political emigrants to find work and on account of this we have to introduce certain changes and to permit comrades to come here.

XVII. FINANCES

Now I am going to the basis of the base of our work, namely, to the finances.

The general sum of the means which were expended both by the Executive Committee of MOPR as well as the local organisations abroad, constitutes 17,056,580 rubles. Of this amount 90.3 per cent was expended on direct aid, 9.7 per cent expended on the organisational and agitational expenditures of the sections and on political emigration.

What was the co-relation in percentage of what was given by the Executive Committee and what was collected by the foreign organisations?

In the beginning the Executive Committee gave 53.7 per cent; there was even one time in 1924 when the Executive Committee gave to the support of the political prisoners and their aid 69.2 per cent. In the past year of 1930 the co-relation has strongly changed; the Executive gave 33.1 per cent and the local collections constitute 66.9 per cent, that is, the centre of gravity has been transferred to the local collections. Perhaps you will be surprised and say that this is an incorrect policy of the Executive Committee. But comrades, first of all the demands which are placed before us cannot be satisfied to the extent even by the Executive Committee, even with the assistance of the section of the U.S.S.R. On the other hand picture what will be the situation if war or intervention will take place? Why then they will not be able to exist at all if time! measures were not taken.

For this reason we introduced the line which is carried on in the U.S.S.R. by the Central Committee of MOPR SELF-SUPPORTING ORGANISATION, the sections should maintain themselves, and only in extreme cases should receive any subsidy. At the present time we are giving aid only to the illegal organisations. And illegal organisations must also stand on their own feet.

Finally, we set for ourselves the task that our sections should give equal assistance to all the political prisoners, and that we should not have such facts as we have in France, when to the ordinary rank and file member assistance was given by the MOPR and the Communist who was arrested and who occupied some sort of a Party post received during the course of a long time wages, which he received at his place of work.

In France, this campaign in part was raised by Comrade Marty who declared that he must receive the same as the other political prisoners, and not as a member of the Central Committee of the Party. At the present time our section agrees with this and began to carry out the corresponding line.

A few words about the work of the Auditing Commission.

The Auditing Commission of the Executive Committee was elected completely from the comrades of the Soviet Union, but, however, it is necessary to say that the Auditing Commission worked very poorly so that when recently we had to verify one of the balances of the Executive Committee we could not call together the Auditing Commission.

XVIII. THE ENEMIES AND SABOTAGERS OF THE MOPR CAUSE

I shall now pass to the political condition of our sections abroad.

First I have already mentioned that we have to carry on the struggle with the Social-Democrats, they do not recognise us. They attempt to create their own independent organisation. So for instance, they have the "Matteotti Fund" the essence of which consists in carrying on the struggle against the Soviet Union, inasmuch as it serves to render assistance to the prisoners in the "countries without democracy."

Such a country "without democracy" they consider the Soviet Union. They consider that they have democracy (in essence they have no democracy there) but that we have no democracy, and so they want to help the Mensheviks and other saboteurs in the Soviet Union. We will not permit them to do so.

Alongside with the "Matteotti Fund" the so-called Juridical Fund has been created in Norway. The Anarchists thought of creating a "Sacco-Vanzetti Fund," and recently Schloer, the former secretary of the Central Committee of the German Red Aid, jointly with his helpers, adherents of Brandler and Thalheimer, have to all aims and purposes stolen the organisation which was created by the Red Aid in Germany, for the eventuality of illegality.

They have re-named this organisation "International Unified Aid" and created it as an independently existing organisation in Germany in spite of the fact that the same Schloer and the same Schmidt have created jointly with us the general constitution for all the organisations, on the basis of which in every country can exist only one MOPR organisation.

And now these persons have the audacity to appeal to the Executive Committee and to ask us to take them into the composition of the German Red Aid.

But we have to deal with our opponents, not only in the shape of individual organisation. They attempted to utilise our organisations abroad for the purpose of squaring up the factional and Party accounts. We have shown them the door and told them that we have come to the parting of the ways. Such facts we have first in Germany, secondly—in Rumania; we had such facts in Brazil, where the Trotskyists in the course of two years had possession of our MOPR organisation, but now they have been thrown overboard.

We also had to deal with the Trotskyists in our American section, which on account of this was almost on the verge of

destruction. Fortunately this was noted in time by the American Section, and now our brother organisation grows and flourishes in spite of the designs of all enemies.

XIX. WHAT DO WE DEMAND FROM THE MOPR OF THE U.S.S.R.?

At the present time, all these questions of the internal order are particularly serious for our organisations on account of the threatening intervention and war. We have centred on these questions the attention of all our organisations abroad, but we here also must think over this question. And in conclusion I wish to deal with those demands which we set before our leading and best organisation—the section MOPR. First of all we have the task of influencing all our brother organisations by means of competition, but the competition must be carried out in definite periods, whereas up to the present time, those organisations which competed have ordinarily not kept to the terms, delayed tempos, and taken too long to swing into work. I would point out the first experience which took place between Germany and Moscow.

The proposal about the competition was made on the part of the Berlin organisation in the month of November, 1929, and our Moscow organisation managed to answer only at the end of January, 1930.

What is the use of this? We must not work this way. This enhances the spirit of competition.

Then it is necessary to change the form and content of competition. I will cite you an example. Let us take our school children: in what must consist their competition? On the one hand our "Young Friends of MOPR" must show in which conditions take place their study in the Soviet Union, how they are connected with the labour processes, how no religious compulsion exists or can exist in the Soviet Union;

and on the other hand—must enquire of the corresponding school how they are studying, in what conditions, and in what environment the Pioneers have to work abroad.

I will take another example. Let us take for instance our electrical factory. It must show how with the transfer to the uninterrupted week and the seven-hour working day, the work of the factory was reconstructed and how in connection with this had to be reconstructed the MOPR work. The electrical factory must enquire of the corresponding factory, I say, A.E.G. in Berlin, or some other electrical factory in Germany or France, how they are carrying on the work, etc., and with this to begin the correspondence—the Socialist Competition.

Third example: our member on the Collective Farm (kol-khoznik) of the Volokolamsk county must tell how he carried on his economy before, when he worked individually, what changes have taken place at the present time, how their psychology has changed since they began to work collectively, and to enquire about the same from the peasants of other countries with whom they will compete.

Finally, the fourth example—the Red Army. They must tell in which conditions they work and study and are getting ready to fight; and to place the question how this is done with the soldiers of the armies abroad.

These will be just those methods of competition which the sections of the U.S.S.R. must carry out.

Then we have before us the task about the extension of the work which has already begun by the Central Committee of MOPR of the U.S.S.R.—namely the creation of children's homes.

At the present time we have only one children's home near Moscow, at the Lopassnia Station. It is necessary that the organisations of our section should also initiate this work locally. Before our organisations must also be placed the task of creating a sanatorium where we will be able to place

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more comrades than up to the present time in order that on leaving the jail they will recuperate and get their forces for the new revolutionary struggles.

It is necessary to create the home of revolutionary invalids. It is not necessary that we should utilise only the "Ilyitch" home of the Veterans of the Revolution.

It is necessary that we should have our own MOPR, home for the Invalids of the Revolution.

And finally it is necessary to increase our MOPR delegations to the Soviet Union because every such delegation gives a tremendous stimulus to the work of our sections abroad.

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